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CHAPTER IV.

SUBSEQUENT FATE OF THE LENAPE AND THEIR KINDRED TRIBES.

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AFTER the murder of the Conestogo Indians, the Lenni Lenape thought proper, for their safety, to withdraw altogether from the interior of the white settlements, into the wilds of the Susquehannah country; and Government, conscious that they could no longer protect any Indians, or body of Indians, whether Christians or not, in the settled parts of the province, advised the Christian Indians, whom, during the last troubles, they had with difficulty prevented from sharing the fate of the Conestogos, to retire into the back country. They did so, and settled at Wyalusing, which then became the nearest settlement of Indians to the white inhabitants, being upwards of 150 miles north of Philadelphia, and about 100 miles from the frontier settlers beyond the blue mountains; all the other Indians of that nation, together with the Nanticokes, lived then higher up the Susquehannah. For about five years, the Indians on this river enjoyed peace, and the Christian Indians lived quietly here and at another settlement they had made thirty miles higher, built good houses for themselves, together with a spacious church, planted fruit trees, and put large bodies of land under cultivation. But, while they were flattering themselves with the most favourable prospect, they were informed that the Six Nations had sold the whole country, including the land they lived on, to the English. They soon saw through the object of this clandestine proceeding, of which they had not received the least notice, and foreseeing what kind of neighbours they should have, if they should stay where

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they were, they determined to move off in a body to the Ohio, where they had received an invitation to settle from the grand council of their nation. Accordingly, two hundred and forty one souls set off directly for the Muskingum river, where a large tract of land was given them, out of that which the Wyandots had formerly granted and confirmed to their people; the other Indians of the same nation residing on the Susquehannah soon followed, some settling at one place, some at another; the Mouseys,[a] however, joined their own tribe, who long since had emigrated and were settled on the head waters of the Allegheny river; and so the whole country east of the Allegheny mountains was cleared of its original inhabitants.

The Delawares thus became at once released from their troublesome neighbours the Iroquois, who had calculated on their settling near them, at a place they had already fixed upon; but they were mistaken, for with all their fair speeches they could not persuade the Lenape, who gave them plainly to understand that they were no longer inclined to listen to a people who had so long and so often deceived them.

This happened in the year 1768, about six[a] years before the beginning of the revolutionary war. During which short period of tranquillity, the numbers of the Christian Indians on the Ohio rapidly increased, and never was there such a fair prospect of their being fixed in a state of prosperous civilisation. But the revolution put an end to these hopes, and this opportunity was lost, perhaps, never to return again. It was not the fault of the American government, who were truly desirous of seeing the Indians adopt a neutral line of conduct, and repeatedly advised them not to interfere in the quarrel between the colonies and the mother country; happy would it have been if the British government had acted in the same manner; but they pursued a different plan. These poor deluded people were dragged into a war in which they had no concern, by which not only their po-

[a] [Errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. -Analyst]

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pulation was gradually reduced, but they lost the desire of becoming a civilised people; for the Americans, at last, become exasperated against them, and considering all Indians as their enemies, they sent parties out from time to time to destroy them. The murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum in 1782, completed their alienation. Those who yet remained were driven to despair, and finally dispersed.

It is not in my power to ascertain the whole number of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, still existing at the present time. As far as I am informed, they are very much scattered, a number of them, chiefly of the Monsey tribe, living in Upper Canada, others are in the state of Ohio, and some on the waters of the Wabash in the Indiana territory. A considerable number of them has crossed the Mississippi. Their first emigrations to that country had already begun between the years 1780 and 1790. What the numbers of this nation were when the Europeans first came into this country is difficult to tell; all I can say is, that so early as 1760, their oldest men would say that they were not then as many hundreds as they had been thousands. They have considerably decreased since that period. I saw them myself between the years 1754 and 1760, by hundreds at a time, and Loskiel in his history gives an account of upwards of 800 having been fed at Bethlehem in one year. In the year 1762, while I lived at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, they were settled on that river and its branches, and also on the Cayahoga river, which empties into Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of which they had since a small Christian settlement called *Pilgerruh*, (Pilgrim's rest.)*

* Loskiel, part III. ch. 12.

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of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[32] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 185-86.
[31] Newcomb, 1956, p. 63.
[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1903, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-31; Bolton, 1920, pp. 228-86; Swanton, 1952, pp. 48-50; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.
[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 38.

[text continues on p. 7]

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Map 1

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to refer to that group of Delawares who "lived nearest to the sea."[34] The term seems to be of Munsi origin and was applied by them to the main body. The name first appeared in 1757 and was in use until the final removal to Oklahoma, but it is not remembered today.[35] The Unami occupied the middle reaches of the Delaware River including much of the Schuylkill River Valley. Besides territory in what is now Pennsylvania, they occupied a large part of New Jersey, as well as some territory on the lower Hudson.[36] The Unami were composed of the following subdivisions. The Navisink (or Neversinck, Navasink) "inhabited the Highlands south of Sandy Hook," the Sanhikan (also called Raritan) "were divided, it is said, in two sachemdoms and about twenty chieftaincies."[37] They occupied the Raritan Valley in northeast-central New Jersey, and probably the southern end of Staten Island. The third division was known as the Hackinsack (or Hackensack), and their territory included the valleys of the Hackinsack and Passaic rivers in northeastern New Jersey. The fourth division was the Aquackanonk; their territory included what is now Paterson, New Jersey, and they were "also described as occupying a considerable portion of the centre of New Jersey."[38] The fifth division, the Tappan (or Tapant), extended from the Hackinsack River to the highlands. They also seem to have had some land on the Hudson.[39] Wassenaer in 1624 associated a group called the Mechkentowoon with the Tappan; they may have been a separate group or a subdivision of the Tappan.[40] Swanton has termed them a Mahican subdivision.[41] The sixth division of the Unami was known as the Haverstraw; they lived north of the Tappan with undefined western boundaries and with Stony Point as their northern limit, according to Ruttenber. The Assiscunck and the Rancocas lived in the vicinity of Burlington, New Jersey, and Rancocas Creek to the south. Skinner gave the Okahoki as another division dwelling opposite the Rancocas on the west side of the Delaware. He also said that the Shackamaxon lived near and to the north of Philadelphia. These last two subdivisions Swanton assigned to the Unalachtigo. Some authorities list a number of other subdivisions in central New Jersey; these include Assunpink, Axion, Calcefar, Gashwechnagechga, Meletecunk, Mosilian, and Pompton. They may or may not have been independent Unami subdivisions. There is no assurance that the Unami groups were equal to one another in size or importance; they seem to have shared a common culture, but they were not unified politically.

On western Long Island two Montauk subdivisions, the Canarsee and the Rockaway, had close ties with the Unami and in part merged with the Delaware tribe in later times.[42] It is perhaps significant to recall that the East River Aspect also includes western Long Island. The Sanhikan, Hackensack, and Canarsee jointly occupied Staten Island, a

[34] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114.
[35] Speck, 1931, p. 14; Hunter, 1951, p. 2; Hayes, 1954, p. 85.
[36] Mooney, 1911, p. 330.
[37] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 89.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[39] Bolton, 1920, p. 281.
[40] Wassenaer, 1909, p. 67.
[41] Swanton, 1952, p. 41.
[42] Bolton, 1920, p. 271.

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fact which is probably indicative of their close cultural affiliations. On the southern end of Manhattan Island were a people known as the Reckgawawanc. Bolton said they had close relationships with the Tappan, and in 1669 "they were driven away to a refuge among the Tappan by the warparties of the Mohawk."[43] To the north of the Reckgawawanc was a group known as the Weckquaesgeek, a Wappinger subdivision. They also seem to have been closely related to the peoples on the west side of the Hudson.

The second traditional division of the Delawares is known as the Munsi (or Munsee, Monsey, Minsi, Monthey, Minisink). This word means "people of the stony country" or perhaps "mountaineers."[44] The label is apt, for the Munsi inhabited the more mountainous area along the headwaters and tributaries of the Delaware River. The Munsi were a distinct group culturally and until the last century were often considered a separate tribe. Cherokee-Delawares are still able to point out members of this group, and the Munsi have persisted as a distinct group in Canada. The term Munsi does not appear in the literature until the eighteenth century, and Wallace contends that they were a coalescence of peoples around the Minisink community.[45]

The Waoraneck, who originally lived on the Hudson in Orange County, near Stony Point, were one of the peoples who probably became Munsi. They seem to have been one of the five or six "tribes" of the Esopus country. The Warranawonkong formed the second division, and their territory "embraced the waters of the Shawangunk, the Wallkill and the Esopus rivers."[46] The Mamekoting, the third division of the Munsi, lived in the Makating Valley. "Their history is so intimately blended with that of the Esopus Indians that identification is impossible further than by title."[47] The little-known Wawarsink were the fourth group of Esopus Indians. The Katskill, another group, lived north of the Saugerties and formed the eastern watershed of the Catskill Mountains.[48] The principal group of Munsi, inhabiting the headwaters of the Delaware River, was termed the Minisink.

The third and southernmost group of Delawares is not well known, since they seem to have merged with the Unami at an early date. Their name is usually given as Unalachtigo[49] (sometimes Unalachto) and signifies "people who live near the ocean."[50] Speck has suggested that they were really Naraticon of southern New Jersey "under the guise of a dialectic name."[51] Brinton, on the other hand, felt that they might be Nanticoke (Unechtigo).[52] Wallace said that since the term is found only "in the pages of Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and their copyists" there was no group so named.[53] He proposed, however, that the word Unalachtigo might refer "to any Indians – Delawares or otherwise – who lived in southern New Jersey along the shore."[54] Philhower said that the

[43] Bolton, 1930, p. 344.
[44] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[45] Wallace, 1949, p. 11.
[46] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 93.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] Harrington, 1913, p. 208.
[50] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[51] Speck, 1931, p. 15.
[52] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[53] Wallace, 1949, p. 13.
[54] *Ibid.*

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Unalachtigo and Nanticoke were closely related in culture and had a common origin.[55] For convenience the term Unalachtigo is used for the natives of southern New Jersey who in later times became part of the Delaware tribe.

The southern tip of Cape May was inhabited by a people known as the Kechemeche, and in the same area Swanton located a group he termed the Tirans.[56] In the valleys of the rivers and creeks emptying into Delaware Bay were many small groups of Delawares. On Maurice Creek were the Sewaposee (or Sewapois), and above them on Cohansey Creek the Siconesse (or Sikonesses). The Mantese (or Manta, Mante) inhabited the vicinity of Salem Creek, and north of them on Raccoon Creek were the Narraticon (or Naraticon). A group termed Asomoche has also been mentioned for this vicinity. To the north of the Narraticon in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Pensaukin Creek, were found the Eromiex (or Ermonex, Eriwonec, Eriwoneck, Armewaxes). Near Camden was a group called the Yacomanshaghking, and extending up the east bank of the Delaware River to Burlington were several poorly known bands. Opposite the Narraticon in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware, were the Chikelacki (Chikohoki?), as well as the Amimenipaty, Hopokohacking, Memankitonna, and Passayank.

In sum, the people who were to comprise the Delaware tribe of the eighteenth century were drawn from a large number of small, dispersed, and essentially autonomous groups. At the dawn of historic times they were not a tribe in the political sense, and since they differed somewhat from one another in other aspects of culture, it is perhaps unwise to think of them as a tribe. It was not until these groups had become consolidated in the early decades of the eighteenth century that the term Delaware is properly applicable to them. The English name Delaware was given to these people because they were concentrated near the Delaware River in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Modern Delawares sometimes say that the term is derived from a Delaware expression meaning "I said" or "I meant." There is a phonetic similarity between this Delaware expression and the English name, but it is probably a rationalization.[57] The Delawares' term for themselves is "Lenape" which means "people."[58] They also occasionally refer to themselves as the "lenni lenape" which means the "real" or the "original people,"[59] or something similar to "we, the people."[60]

Linguistic Affiliations

The term Delaware has been used to refer to a language of the Central type of Eastern-Central Algonkin.[61] Eastern-Central Algonkin

[55] Philhower, 1931, p. 4. Weslager, 1950, pp. 48-54, 57-58, presents strong evidence against this identification, however.

[56] Swanton, 1952, p. 50.

[57] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114, agrees on this point.

[58] Brinton, 1885, p. 34.

[59] Wallace, 1949, p. 7.

[60] Wissler, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[61] Michelson, 1912, pp. 221-90; Bloomfield, 1946, p. 85.

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was not a simple one brought about by one relationship. By the end of the seventeenth century the Delaware tribe was coming under the domination of the United States alone, but this did not simplify the situation since the new nation was changing almost as rapidly as were its policies towards the Indians. Another important condition, perhaps the most important insofar as survival of Delaware culture was concerned, was the opportunity which the Delawares had to retreat beyond the frontier when they were too hard pressed by the whites. These successive migrations brought them into new environmental situations and into contact with a number of different tribes. These also had an effect upon Delaware culture change. In this study I can only hope to point out the major trends of the complex process of acculturation and some of the principal reasons for various kinds of alterations in Delaware culture.

The Contact Period (1524-1690)

Delaware acculturation naturally falls into four or five phases or periods. The existence of these periods is clear, although their duration in years may be but hazily defined. The first period, extending from 1524 to about 1690, I have termed the Contact Period. It was characterized by primary acculturation, that is, direct borrowing by the Delawares of a whole host of European traits, overwhelmingly of a technological nature. During this period forces which were partly or wholly extracultural were responsible for the appearance of a new sort of warfare, an altered economy, and extensive depopulation.

History

The first contact the Delawares had with Europeans seems to have been with Verrazzano in 1524. This explorer sailed into what may have been the Bay of New York and explored Bayonne Bay, but this brief encounter seems to have been culturally inconsequential.[3] The next contact was with Dutch traders in 1598, but Henry Hudson's visit in 1609 is often described as the beginning of regular intercourse between the Europeans and Delawares.[4] Hudson entered the Bay of New York, and one of his boats went as far up the Hudson River as Albany.[5] It has also been said that Hudson entered Delaware Bay in the same year. These early contacts cannot be described as particularly friendly; Hudson's mate was killed during an Indian attack on the East River in 1609, and strife between the Dutch and the Tappan and Raritan has been recorded in 1639-40.[6] Mey's fort near Philadelphia, built in 1631, was razed by the natives, and De Vries' colony on Cape Henlopen in the present state of Delaware was destroyed in 1632.[7] Despite the hostility which the natives occasionally showed towards the Europeans, relations were for

[3] Murphy, 1875, p. 176.
[4] Mooney, 1911, p. 331; Acrelius, 1876, xii.
[5] Acrelius, 1876, xii.
[6] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 102-3.
[7] Acrelius, 1876, xiii.

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the most part peaceful during the early decades of the seventeenth century because both peoples were fascinated with, and drawn irresistibly to, each other by their respective goods and possessions. The contact was not limited to a few Delawares casually trading with Europeans; rather, every Indian avidly desired to barter his plentiful furs, food, or whatever else he might have that the Europeans desired, for the strange, efficient, and rare European goods. As Hunt has demonstrated, every Indian could at this time easily acquire the wherewithal to procure these desired items.[8]

During the early decades of the seventeenth century the Delawares found themselves in an admirable trading position. The Swedes, Dutch, and English had purchased land, established colonies, and were competing vigorously with one another for the Indian trade. On the Hudson River in 1609 there was "a great traffick in the skins of beavers, otters, foxes, bears, minks, wild cats, and the like."[9] In 1638 the Swedes, in their first year in the New World, exported 30,000 skins, chiefly from the Delaware area.[10] The Delawares did not long remain favored trading partners of the Europeans, however, since they did not have easy access to the rich fur-bearing lands of the interior. By 1627 the Iroquois were supplying the Dutch with a large quantity of furs in the Albany area, and until 1655 the Swedes carried on an extensive fur trade with the Susquehannock (Conestoga) Indians.[11] These Iroquoian peoples acted as a barrier to the coastal peoples in quest of the furs of the interior. The Europeans were quick to recognize the value of close trade connections with these inland Iroquoian peoples, for the Swedes backed the Susquehannock with arms and the Dutch, the Iroquois.[12]

The Delawares could not placidly watch the coveted European merchandise, particularly arms and ammunition, go to their rivals in the interior. In the 1660's "a terrific contest was then raging between the Senecas and the Minsis, and the former came to Ft. Orange and demanded, by virtue of the treaty of Esopus (1660) a higher price for their furs."[13] By 1680 the Minisink and the Tappan were under "obligations of subjugation" to the Iroquois,[14] and other Delaware groups were probably experiencing similar pressures about this time. This marks the beginning of the ascendancy of the Iroquois over the Delawares. The political and military superiority of the Iroquois was then a function of "their fortunate but accidental position as a buffer group and a trading front for the Dutch and English, [it] enabled them to maintain their solidarity while other aboriginal tribes were being broken and having their society destroyed by settlers, soldiers, and epidemics."[15]

The competition among the European nations was also intense, and by 1655 the Dutch were able to attack and conquer the Swedes on the Delaware River. Nine years later, in 1664, the English were able to

[8] Hunt, 1939, p. 4.
[9] De Laet, 1909, p. 48.
[10] Sipe, 1931, p. 61; Acrelius, 1876, pp. 19-20.
[11] Hunt, 1939, p. 33; Sipe, 1931, p. 61.
[12] Sipe, 1931, p. 61.
[13] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 68.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[15] Griffin, 1954, p. 361; see also Ruttenber, 1872, p. 66.

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oust the Dutch from New Netherland.[16] When the English supplanted the Dutch on the Hudson, the condition of the Indians improved temporarily; treaties were concluded and peace restored.[17] The English, however, were acutely interested in expanding their colonial possessions, and from this time on the position of the Delawares became less and less enviable in their relationships both with the British and with other Indian tribes.[18] The last half of this century found the Delawares in a violent struggle with the British-supported Iroquois on the one hand and the land-hungry Europeans on the other.

Acculturation

From the time of their first contacts with the Europeans, the Indians had wanted to acquire guns, powder, cloth, lead, copper, kettles, axes, hoes, picks, spades, shovels, glass beads, awls, bodkins, scissors, knives, mirrors, and needles. William Penn, for example, purchased land in 1683 from Tamanend and other Delawares by the payment of:

> ...5 pairs of stockings, 20 bars of lead, 10 tobacco boxes, 6 coats, 2 guns, 8 shirts, 2 kettles, 12 awls, 5 hats, 25 pounds of powder, 1 peck of pipes, 38 yards of "duffields," 16 knives, 100 needles, 10 glasses, 5 caps, 15 combs, 5 hoes, 9 gimlets, 20 fish hooks, 10 tobacco tongs, 10 pairs of scissors, 7 half-gills, 6 axes, 2 blankets, 4 handfuls of bells, 4 yards of "stroudswaters" and 20 handfuls of wampum.[19]

Bolton, speaking of articles traded for land in the seventeenth century, said:

> The articles in greatest demand seem to have been more than three hundred knives of various kinds, followed by one hundred and eighty-five hatchets, axes, and adzes, and, to a much less extent, by one hundred and forty-one hoes. Doubtless the guns and fowling-pieces were the most coveted weapons, but of these they secured only sixty-seven in all, with two hundred and twenty-seven pounds of gunpowder and one hundred and thirty bars of lead, three melting ladles, and five bullet molds....Of clothing, one hundred and eighty-two coats were in the majority, these being already made up, with more than three hundred yards of the trade cloths known as duffels, duzzons, and stroudwater, and one hundred and thirteen shirts, ninety-two pairs of stockings, and eighty-seven blankets, with ten corals or beads.
>
> There were one hundred and seventeen kettles of iron or brass, seventy-six earthenware and stoneware jugs, twelve "steels to strike fire," and twenty spoons. Among sundry small objects were one thousand fish-hooks, two hundred and twenty needles, one hundred and twenty awls or "muxes," used to drill holes in wampum (as one of the deeds states), one hundred and thirty clay pipes, ten bells, and ten jewsharps.
>
> A few rolls of tobacco were thrown in, with thirty-two tobacco boxes; and with this went another kind of solace in the form of twenty-five half-vats of strong beer, and sixteen ankers of the Indians' deadliest enemy, rum.[20]

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[16] Myers, 1912, p. 54; Ruttenber, 1872, p. 158.
[17] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 158.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 158.
[19] Sipe, 1931, p. 70.
[20] Bolton, 1920, pp. 299-300.

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land matters. The latter conflicts were with both Europeans and other Indian groups. In short, the pre-European primitive war complex, which had been indulged in as a pastime more than anything else, soon gave way to a bitter, long-lasting, and desperate struggle for survival.[23] In the Contact Period the conflicts were primarily with the Iroquois and Susquehannock; in subsequent periods the Delawares fought the land-hungry Euro-American forces almost exclusively. War continued to be carried on in the same way (i.e., by small groups of skulking Indians) and in fact proved highly successful in temporarily terrorizing the frontiers, but it was ultimately disastrous to the numerically and technologically inferior Delawares. In sum, a new form of warfare made its appearance in the Contact Period as a result of the conditions of culture contact rather than as a diffusion of traits. For this early period there is little positive documentation concerning the diffusion of social institutions or religious beliefs and practices. It is clear, nevertheless, that little if any diffusion from European civilization occurred in these areas of culture.

The Period of Consolidation (1690-1750)

In the sixty years following the close of the Contact Period there was an amazing reorganization and consolidation of the Delawaran peoples. The political entity known as the Delaware tribe emerged early in the eighteenth century, and there are indications of consolidation and synthesis in other parts of culture. The Big House Ceremony, for example, was probably synthesized during this epoch. Consolidation and reorganization were the results of the catastrophic depopulation which had occurred in the seventeenth century, the migration of Delawares and their subsequent concentration, their subjugation by the Iroquois, and the necessity for mutual protection and unified action in dealing with other Indians and with the Europeans.[24]

Migration

It was not until late in the seventeenth century that Delaware migrations became of major importance, although there had been a movement and reshuffling of the natives ever since the Europeans had established colonies. In 1682, when William Penn made his first treaty with the Delawares, they were still in possession of much of the lower Delaware Valley. Small groups or bands were moving westward as early as 1690; in this year, for instance, "a band of the Minsi left for the far West, to unite with the Ottawas."[25] Even before the opening of the new century, there seems to have been an increasing concentration of population

[23] Snyderman, 1948.

[24] Hunter, 1954, pp. 341-44, has contributed much to an understanding of this period by his study of the growth of the Delaware nation from 1701 to 1757.

[25] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 177; Brinton, 1885, p. 122.

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around the present Sunbury, in the Susquehanna Valley. By 1724 the Unami and Unalachtigo of this region had begun their migration to western Pennsylvania and the Allegheny River, below the mouth of the Mahoning, centering around the town of Kittaning.[30] In 1742 the Iroquois moved some of the remaining coastal Delawares to the Susquehanna Valley, and two years later by the treaty of Lancaster all of the Delawares remaining in the Delaware Valley were ordered by the Iroquois to "leave the waters of their river, and remove to Shamokin (now Sunbury) and Wyoming, and the Susquehanna, and most of them obeyed. The former was their chief town, and the residence of their 'king' Allemoebi."[37] After the Walking Purchase of 1737 the Munsi began their migration to the west.[38]

The geographical displacement, then, did not affect all the Delawares at once; small groups sold their land or were forced from it at various times. The scattered, decimated, demoralized, and unorganized bands, perhaps even families, of Delawares soon gathered, or were gathered, as they had never been in pre-European times. The "towns" that grew up in the river valleys of western Pennsylvania in the early decades of the eighteenth century were not formed from homogeneous cultural units. As early as 1694 part of the Shawnee became allied with the Munsi.[39] It is not known whether this association was only an alliance or whether it was something more. Mahican remnants became incorporated into the Delaware tribe; Hodge, for instance, said that "about 1730 a large body of them emigrated to Susquehanna r.and settled near Wyoming Pa., in the vicinity of the Delaware and Munsee, with whom they afterward removed to the Ohio region finally losing their identity."[30] The Conoy also about this time, and undoubtedly remnants from other tribes, were incorporated into the Delaware tribe.[31]

The westward migration of the Delawares set the stage for their more complete subjugation by the Iroquois. During the Period of Consolidation they were forced by the Iroquois to become "women." Weslager, who has made the most extensive study of this phenomenon, said that it occurred by conquest before 1712.[32] Whatever the date and method of subjugation, the Iroquois between this date and 1756 barred the Delawares from making treaties or going to war. It is impossible to determine the exact time when these subjugated people became the Delaware tribe. There are scattered references to "Delaware Indians" in the later decades of the seventeenth century, but it is not clear whether these indicate a political and cultural unit or their geographical location.[33] By 1736 the term Delaware was being used in treaties for at least some of these subjugated, but relatively unified peoples.[34] Before 1750 "chiefs" appeared who seem to have had considerable authority.

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[30]Sipe, 1931, p. 43.
[37]Brinton, 1885, p. 123.
[38]Sipe, 1931, p. 43.
[39]Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 180-81.
[30]Hodge, 1907, Pt. 1, p. 786; see also Harrington, 1913, p. 209.
[31]Hodge, 1907, Pt. 2, p. 25.
[32]Weslager, 1944, pp. 381-88.
[33]See, for example, Browne, 1896, XV: 174-75, XVII: 14, 210-11, 221.
[34]Franklin, 1939, p. 7.

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Teedyuscung by 1756 claimed authority over the entire tribe, including the Munsi.[35]

Apart from this secondary, political acculturation there are indications of other cultural changes. It is apparent, for example, that a number of technological items had completely replaced their native counterparts and had become necessities. This foreshadowed the dependence upon the dominant culture which has constantly increased since that time. Kalm in the first half of the eighteenth century said:

> Before the Europeans settled in North America the Indians had no other vessels to boil their meat in than these earthen pots of their own making; but since their arrival the savages have always bought pots, kettles and other necessary vessels of the Europeans, and no longer take the pains of making any, so that this art is entirely lost among them.[36]

Although the kinship structure of society survived this period, it was probably undergoing some alteration away from its early matrilineal, matrilocal emphasis. The number of clans probably increased as the Delaware tribe made its appearance. The tribal and village leaders developed considerable authority in external affairs, but they had no more power or control over internal affairs or over individual persons than they had traditionally possessed. In this period of turmoil it is apparent that stronger internal controls and a more highly developed apparatus of government were needed. Stronger external relations were formed by the emergence of chiefs and the tribe, but there is no indication of a similar strengthening of internal governmental institutions.

In the ideological sphere of culture there seems to have been no direct diffusion from European to Delaware culture. There was acculturation of a derived or secondary type, however, as is noted in Chapter IV. The Big House Ceremony as a tribal affair was probably synthesized during the early part of this period. It was also at this time that missionary activity was initiated among the Delawares. The first brief and futile attempt was made by David Brainerd, a missionary of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, a Scotch organization. The attitude of the Delawares was expressed in a conversation Brainerd had with a Munsi chief in 1744. Brainerd said:

> ...he inquired why I desired the Indians to become Christians, seeing the Christians were so much worse than the Indians are in their present state. The Christians, he said, would lie, steal, and drink, worse than the Indians. It was they first taught the Indians to be drunk: and they stole from one another, to that degree, that their rulers were obliged to hang them for it...he said, they would live as their fathers had lived, and go where their fathers were when they died.[37]

Later on Brainerd said:

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[35]Wallace, 1949, pp. 103-15; Sipe, 1931, p. 262.

[36]Kalm, 1937, I: 173.

[37]Brainerd, 1884, p. 127.

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> ...the manner of their living is likewise a great disadvantage to the design of their being Christianized. They are almost continually roving from place to place; and it is but rare that an opportunity can be had with some of them for their instruction. There is scarcely any time of the year, wherein the men can be found generally at home, except about six weeks before, and in the season of planting corn, and about two months in the latter part of summer, from the time they begin to roast their corn, until it is fit to gather in.[38]

By the closing decades of this period the Moravians had entered the missionary field and were to become important, although on the whole unsuccessful, agents of religious diffusion.

Nativistic Period (1750-1814)

The Nativistic Period is one of the most interesting epochs in Delaware history because the Delawares by the opening of this period had risen, Phoenix-like, from the ashes of their subjugation and removal and had forged themselves into a tribe which was able to defy the Six Nations and the Europeans. This was the period of Delaware militarism, and although they were on the losing end of every war in which they took part, the prowess of the Delaware warrior became know from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi. In a more general way this period was characterized by secondary acculturation, or culture change and modification caused by, and a result of, earlier acculturation. In this period the stresses and strains of acculturation culminated in a nativistic movement.

History

The English had disposed of their European rivals on the Atlantic seaboard in the seventeenth century, but by the middle of the next century they were confronted with the much more serious competition of the French in the interior. War began between these two powers in 1754 with the surrender of Washington at Fort Necessity. The Five Nations continued their alliance with the English and promised the aid of their subjugated tribes, including the Delawares. Since the Delawares were now mainly in the Ohio Valley, they were not as amenable to Iroquoian pressure and were more easily influenced by the French. Their most immediate reason for finally taking the French side was probably the Albany purchase of 1754. Settlers from Connecticut had explored the Susquehanna River and decided to locate at Wyoming, land which had been assigned to the Delawares by the Iroquois. The purchase was made from a few drunken chiefs and "included the whole valley of Wyoming and the country westward to the sources of the Allegheny."[39] After Braddock's defeat in July, 1755, the Delawares with many other Ohio Valley Indians joined the French cause.[40] By this

[38] Brainerd, 1884, p. 131.
[39] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 216.
[40] Sipe, 1931, pp. 203 ff.

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action they literally and figuratively threw off the title of "women" and henceforth could not be regarded as docile subjects of the Iroquois. During this struggle the Delawares were split in two divisions, an eastern wing under Teedyuscung and a western one under Shingas. The western division was the more formidable in numbers and in proximity to the French and made the first raid against the frontier in the fall of 1755. The eastern division soon followed with raids into the Lehigh and Delaware valleys.[41] By 1756 the "Indians had cleared the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia frontiers of settlers."[42] The French estimated that from July, 1755, until March, 1756, more than seven hundred people in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina were captured or killed by the Delawares and Shawnees.[43] By 1758 the French could no longer support the marauding Indians, and a few days after the fall of Fort Duquesne in the autumn of 1758 the eastern Delawares and Shawnees made peace with the English in a council at Easton.[44] These Delawares accepted peace on the basis of English withdrawal east of the Alleghenies following the expulsion of the French.[45]

This peace was uneasy and of short duration for the English had no real intention of abandoning the rich Ohio and Allegheny valleys, and the western Delawares remained hostile.[46] Additional reasons for the renewal of hostilities were that the English were less friendly and sociable towards the Indians than had been the French, they gave less for skins and furs, they wanted to settle on the land instead of merely establishing trading posts, and they did not wish to part with guns and ammunition.[47] In 1763 the Indian allies were militarily successful, but by 1764 the Delawares had been subdued by Boquet.[48] In the spring of 1765 the Delawares "submitted to a treaty that represented a complete surrender." The principal features of the treaty were "cession of land in reparation for the losses caused by Indian attacks in 1763" and the stipulation that the Delawares should abide by "any cession of their lands made by the Iroquois."[49] This treaty deprived the Delawares of the use and ownership of all lands south and east of the Ohio River. Some Delawares lived on the upper reaches of the Susquehanna at this time with Nanticoke, Conoy, and Mahican, but the great body of the tribe lived in scattered settlements on Beaver Creek and the Muskingum in what is now Ohio.[50]

From the end of Pontiac's War until 1774 the Delawares were relatively peaceful; they had been soundly beaten by Boquet at Bushy Run, French influence was decreasing, and both Indians and the English needed to resume trading. The English, nevertheless, were unwilling to keep the Indians peaceful with expensive gifts, and the relentless

[41] Sipe, 1931, pp. 204-14; Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 219-20; Downes, 1940, p. 75; Acrelius, 1876, pp. 137-38.
[42] Downes, 1940, p. 80.
[43] Sipe, 1931, p. 275.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 408-9; Parkman, 1893, I: 143.
[45] Sipe, 1931, pp. 407-12.
[46] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 242-43.
[47] Sipe, 1931, p. 407; Parkman, 1893, I: 172-90.
[48] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 246-47; Downes, 1940, pp. 120-21; Thompson, 1937, pp. 4-5.
[49] Downes, 1940, pp. 121-22.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 134; Parkman, 1893, I: 150.

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westward tide of immigration was increasing, particularly after 1770.[51] 177 ✓

During the Revolutionary War the Delawares were the only Indian tribe in the Ohio Valley which, for a time, supported the Americans.[52] 175 ●
The Delawares eventually joined the British for the following reasons. The Americans were unable to aid them either with goods or with protection from pro-British Indians, some Delawares had been killed by Americans, including White Eyes, a pro-American leader, and squatters had invaded Delaware hunting grounds west of the Ohio. The Munsi consistently seem to have been pro-British, raiding the Kentucky border as early as 1777.[53] In February of 1781 Captain Pipe, the leader of the war faction among the Munsi, persuaded the rest of the Delawares in a council held at Coshocton to formally go over to the British.[54] Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, informed the Americans of this defection, and the Americans decided to forestall the Delawares by destroying their central town, Coshocton, on the Tuscarawas. This was done and some captives and much plunder were taken. In the meantime Delawares had successfully raided Wheeling and the frontier.[55] As a result of these hostilities, the main body of Delawares from the Coshocton community migrated to the Sandusky, Scioto, and the Mad rivers to the northwest, taking with them the Moravian missionaries and their disciples.[56] From this region the Delawares sent raiding parties to the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers. The infamous Gnadenhutten massacre seems to have been a retaliation for these raids. On the Tuscarawas River near Coshocton, ninety-six friendly and for the most part Christian Delawares of both sexes and all ages were clubbed to death by militia or "border outlaws."[57] The English capitulated in the fall of 1782, and the jurisdiction of the territory northwest of the Ohio fell to the newly created United States.[58] Delaware hostility was brought to a close in August, 1794, by the defeat of the allied Indians in the battle of Fallen Timbers. With this victory General Wayne was able to conclude the Treaty of Greenville (August, 1795), which marked the end of the conflict for the upper Ohio.[59] Although this area was ceded, the Indians were regarded as the "recognized owners of most of the present Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois."[60]

After the Treaty of Greenville white immigrants poured into the upper Ohio Valley, and the Delawares moved westward. As far back as 1770 the Delawares, in what is now Ohio, had received permission from the Piankashaw to migrate to lands between the Ohio and White rivers in the modern state of Indiana.[61] In 1781 Buckongahelas, a war chief,

[51] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 257.
[52] Thompson, 1937, p. 19; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 151.
[53] Downes, 1940, pp. 211-17, 241, 263; Butterfield, 1882, pp. 25-26.
[54] Sipe, 1931, p. 627; Butterfield, 1882, pp. 50-51.
[55] Downes, 1940, pp. 265, 271; Sipe, 1931, pp. 628-29; Butterfield, 1882, pp. 51-52.
[56] Butterfield, 1882, p. 52; Downes, 1940, p. 271; Sipe, 1931, p. 629.
[57] Mooney, 1911, p. 335.
[58] Zeisberger, 1871, pp. 566-72; Downes, 1940, pp. 273-75.
[59] Downes, 1940, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 18.
[60] G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 18-19.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

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had urged this westward movement, and soon after the Treaty of Greenville many of the Delawares moved to the West Fork of the White River. Other Delawares, with associated Shawnees, moved to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish government.[62] In 1792 Zeisberger had moved his colony of Christian Indians to Canada and founded the town of Fairfield on the Thames River.[63] Zeisberger's group settled near some pagan Munsi who had migrated to this region somewhat earlier. Today there is a threefold division of Delawares in Canada; the Moravians of the Thames, the Munsi, and a few Delawares settled on the Six Nations Reserve.[64] The subsequent history and acculturation of these groups has not been pursued further in the present study.

General W. H. Harrison, as early as 1803, undertook negotiations with the Indian tribes in the Northwest Territory with a view to gaining their land. From that date until the War of 1812 Harrison entered into numerous treaties with the Indians of this area, and the Delawares were forced to cede land, but were able to retain enough so that another westward migration was not necessary.[65] Of all the tribes in the territory of Indiana, the Delawares were the only one which Harrison was able to keep neutral during the War of 1812.[66] The Shawnees and other hostile Indians attempted to induce the Delawares to enter this war, but they were unsuccessful.[67] Chief Anderson, a principal chief, seems to have been persuasive in the cause for peace, as were the Moravians, but past military defeats and cultural decay in general were probably the basic reasons for the peaceful inclination of the Delawares.

Acculturation

During this period there was a continuous flow of European technological articles, yet there was no diffusion of new kinds of technological traits. Zeisberger's list of items which the Indians acquired from traders was similar to that given for the Contact Period:

> For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns — for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, callemanco, knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles . . . bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.[68]

The plow complex had not diffused to the Delawares even by the end of the period.[69] They acquired the domestic animals of the Europeans, although not all the skills of caring for them.[70] During the wars of this period they plundered the frontier settlements and acquired horses, cattle, and other animals. Charles Stuart, captive of the Delawares between 1755 and 1757, said in this connection:

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[62] Hodge, 1907, Pt. 1, p. 385.
[63] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 631.
[64] Harrington, 1908, p. 408.
[65] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 23 ff.
[66] Thompson, 1937, p. 64.
[67] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 16-17.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 116.
[69] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 598-99.
[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 598.

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Though in the detail of the ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time [i.e., prehistorically] worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.[104]

By the time the Shawnee prophet appeared the Delawares seem to have passed somewhat beyond the nativistic phase of acculturation.

Decadent Period (1814-1867)

The military defeats of the Delawares during the Nativistic Period and the disillusionment following the unsuccessful religious revivals set the stage for a phase of acculturation which is best described as one of decadence. By the second decade of the nineteenth century the Delawares were no longer an independent tribe, but were politically and militarily dominated by, and at the mercy of, the United States. In a social sense the tendencies towards dispersal first noted in the preceding period persisted, as small groups continued to desert the main body of the tribe. In other respects cultural decay and disintegration continued, although further acculturation is best described as halting. From this time on the Delawares underwent continuous, overt pressure to become "civilized" Americans.

History

In 1814 the British and Americans concluded a treaty of peace, one article of which stipulated that the Indian allies of the British would have their rights, privileges, and property restored.[105] In compliance with this treaty, in 1816 "A Treaty of Peace and Friendship" was entered into with the Delawares, as well as with other tribes.[106] This treaty did not long prevent the alienation of Indian lands, however, for during the administration of Monroe (1817-25) "a policy was inaugurated looking to increased westward emigration of Indians from east of the Mississippi."[107] Before the War of 1812 the Delawares had bitterly opposed the cession of land, but after the war they did not have the strength to resist the demands of the United States.[108]

In the Treaty of St. Mary's of 1818 the Delawares, including remnants of the Mahicans and Nanticokes, sold their land in Indiana to the government "without reserve." The government agreed to remove them to the west side of the Mississippi and give them land there, although no location or emigration date was set.[109] In 1820 Delawares from the

[104]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 136. Mahr, 1952, has documented the community responsibility of ritual leaders, as demonstrated in the experience of a Moravian convert of 1772.

[105]Thompson, 1937, p. 81; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 27-23.

[106]G. Foreman, 1946, p. 29.

[107]*Ibid.*, pp. 32-47.

[108]Thompson, 1937, p. 81.

[109]Brinton, 1885, pp. 124-25; Mooney, 1911, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 37.

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Whitewater River region in southeastern Indiana and some Shawnees arrived at Kaskaskia. In November the Indian agent at Kaskaskia "paid for ferrying 1,346 Delawares and their 1,499 horses across the Mississippi."[110] Sickness hampered this migration as did also thievery of horses by whites.[111] They spent the winter of 1820 on the Current River in Carter and Shannon counties, Missouri, and they remained in this vicinity a second winter, despite the failure of their corn crop. During the early summer of 1821 the remaining White River Delawares began their trek to Missouri, but because of sickness and other difficulties they did not reach the Mississippi until winter.

In 1821 the Delawares were assigned land in western Missouri, but unfortunately this land possessed a lead mine which was coveted by whites.[112] Their Osage neighbors to the west also resented their presence, and hostilities resulted. During the second decade of this century the remaining Delawares in Ohio experienced increased pressure for emigration. The Delawares in Missouri urged them to migrate in a "correspondence by means of wampum."[113] The Indians of Missouri apparently were planning an alliance with these eastern Indians in order to strengthen themselves and dispossess the Osage. While negotiations were going on for removal of the eastern Indians, Senator Benton of Missouri proposed that land be provided west of Missouri for all Indians. By 1829 the Missouri Delawares and Ohio emigrants had consented to move to Kansas. The land reserved for them was in "the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, extending up the Kansas to the Kansas line and up the Missouri to "Camp Leavenworth"; and thence by a line drawn westwardly, leaving a space of ten miles wide north of the Kansas boundary for an outlet."[114] This treaty provided that the Indians would be assisted in their removal with "ox teams, farming utensils, and provisions . . . ."[115] but some were so anxious that they moved on their own initiative. In 1829 the remaining Delawares in Ohio, chiefly Munsi, in a council with Cass at Detroit agreed to emigrate to Kansas.[116] In 1831 small bands were still moving west, including the band of the venerable Captain Pipe.[117]

As was noted earlier, some Delawares as early as 1789 had moved to Missouri under a Spanish grant. It appears to have been this band which was located on the Red River in the present-day McCurtain County, Oklahoma, in the early part of the nineteenth century. White settlers in 1828 petitioned the authorities for the removal of the Shawnees and Delawares in this area, the Shawnees having joined the Delawares subsequent to the War of 1812.[118] Under threat of armed might the Indians were driven from this locality to Texas. Samuel Houston attempted to supply the immigrant Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, and others with land embracing present-day Cherokee and

[110] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 41.
[111] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[112] *Ibid.*
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[116] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.

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Smith counties along the Neches and Angelina rivers in eastern Texas. The Texas senate refused to ratify Houston's treaty, however, and Mirabeau B. Lamar, Houston's successor, attacked and defeated these Indians.[119] They fled across the Red River to the vicinity of the Washita and Blue rivers in the lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw. In the 1840's most of them settled in Creek territory on the north side of the Canadian River.[120] Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock reported in 1841 and 1842 that there were 700 Delawares "living sixty miles above the mouth of Little River."[121] They were at this time carrying on extensive intercourse with the Comanches and other western Indians. Foreman, quoting from the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, said that these Delawares "are in a semi-barbarous state, and entirely uneducated, but show great shrewdness and intelligence in their intercourse with the whites. As hunters and warriors they have a higher reputation than any other Indians on the frontier."[122]

Another small group of Texas Delawares had allied with the Caddos and they had intermarried. These, along with Tawakonis, Wacos, Shawnees, and Comanches, had been granted a reservation in Texas by the government. Texans resented their presence, however, and in 1859 the government moved them to the Washita River near the present town of Anadarko.[123] During the Civil War the agency responsible for the move was broken up, and the Indians fled to Butler County, Kansas. After the war they returned to the Washita much reduced in numbers; only 471 of the 1,492 who had emigrated from Texas were left. In 1874 the Delawares, Caddos, and Iowas near Anadarko joined forces under the Caddos, with a Caddo chief.[124] By 1886 the agency report listed only forty-one Delawares.[125] There appear to be no more than this number of Delawares in the Anadarko area today; they are culturally and biologically mixed with allied Indians.

Another group which was partly Delaware deserves mention here. This group, known as the Stockbridge, was originally the Mahican Housatonic of Massachusetts. After the American Revolution they joined the Oneida in New York, and in 1832, with a band of Oneida, confederated with a Christianized Munsi band on a reservation near Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin.[126] In 1839 the combined tribe of about 400 moved to Kansas, settling on Delaware lands. They were later reported as part of the Delaware tribe.[127] In 1853 the agent stated that there were only eighteen or twenty left. In 1859 the Stockbridge, variously known as Munsi or Christian Indians, confederated with two bands of Chippewa Indians in Kansas. After the Civil War the Cherokees took them into the Cherokee Nation. I found only one person who claimed to be a Stockbridge Indian living among the "Cherokee-Delawares."

Some Delawares served with the United States in the Seminole wars,

[119] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 161.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 164, as quoted in the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, Feb. 7, 1846, p. 1, col. 4.
[123] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 282.
[124] *Ibid.*, pp. 282-84
[125] *Ann. Rep.*, 1886, p. 128.
[126] Wright, 1951, p. 246.
[127] G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 337-38.

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and according to Adams some were employed by the Hudson Bay Company and not only entered the far northwest, but settled there. He said that their descendants lived in Idaho, Montana, and Oregon in affiliation with the Crow and Nez Percé and "other northwestern tribes." He estimated their number at thirty-five.[128]

In 1838 there were 1,050 Delawares on their reservation at the mouth of the Kansas River.[129] There were also several hundred living along the Red River, as has been noted. These seem to have forsaken agriculture and were dependent upon the chase for most of their livelihood. The main body of Delawares, at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, found no more tranquility or isolation from white contacts than they had found in Missouri, Indiana, or Ohio. Until 1833, when Indian agents concluded a treaty of peace, the Pawnees and Delawares were hostile to each other.[130] During the Gold Rush, and until the Delawares were forced from Kansas, white immigrants continually harassed them. Their horses were stolen, their timber cut, and their property violated. By 1854, in one of the Manypenny treaties, the Delawares were coerced into ceding much of their reservation. Adams said of this cession:

> They were encompassed on every side by settlers, and the history of their difficulties and discouragements was again repeated, their lands coveted and trespassed upon, their timber cut and destroyed. They were denied the protection of the law to either their property or persons, and in the hope of satisfying the demands of their neighbors and of the Government were persuaded, in 1854, to enter into a treaty with the United States by which they ceded 558,555.46 acres of the choicest of their lands in trust, which brought them $1,054,943.37, and at the same time to cede to the United States what was known as the "Outlet," a tract containing more than 1,000,000 acres, for the paltry sum of $10,000.[131]

In subsequent years the plight of the Delawares in Kansas became even more exasperating, for the railroads and the white settlers continued to covet their land.[132] In 1860 more Delaware lands were alienated by allotting to each Delaware eighty acres. The surplus land was to be purchased by the Pawnee and Western Railroad Company for $1.25 per acre.[133] In 1864 another treaty was made for the benefit of a railroad, resulting in the alienation of more land. By 1863 the harassed Delawares petitioned the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for money to send a delegation to the Rocky Mountains in search of a new home.[134] This request was refused, and a location in Indian Territory was suggested by the Commissioner, William P. Dole. Nothing could be done to further this movement until after the Civil War. Adams said that nearly all the able-bodied men enlisted in the Northern Army.[135]

On July 4, 1866, the Delaware tribe and the United States entered into another treaty providing for the removal of the Delawares to Indian

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[128] Adams, 1906, p. 35.
[129] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 182; *Ann. Rep.*, 1838, p. 447.
[130] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 182.
[131] Adams, 1906, pp. 40-41.
[132] *Ibid.*, pp. 42 ff.
[133] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 185.
[134] Adams, 1906, p. 42; *Ann. Rep.*, 1863, p. 235.
[135] Adams, 1906, p. 42.

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Territory. Every person carried upon a roll to be made up by February 18, 1867, was to be given one hundred and sixty acres of land purchased from the Cherokee Nation.[136] The Senate was slow in acting upon this treaty, and the Delawares in April, 1867, took the matter into their own hands and entered into the contract with the Cherokee Nation.[137] A Delaware delegation examined land in the Cherokee Nation and selected a strip of land lying along the Little Verdigris, or Caney, River. This tract comprises the northern four-fifths of present-day Washington County in northeastern Oklahoma.[138] The Delawares from tribal funds paid one dollar per acre for this land. When the roll was compiled there were nine hundred and eighty-five Delawares, who henceforth became part of the Cherokee tribe.[139]

During the fall and winter of 1867 the migration to Indian Territory was begun. The more prosperous individuals were the first to leave; some of the poorer Delawares did not arrive until the next summer.[140] This last migration is remembered by aged informants and is recalled as a journey of extreme hardship. It typifies the condition of the Delawares at this time, for it was the migration of a dispersed, erratically led, destitute remnant.

Acculturation

Acculturation during the Decadent Period is in one sense more complicated than at any other time. As has been seen, during this period the Delawares were more widely scattered and dispersed than they had been previously, and they were never able to regroup or reunite. The forces which affected these various remnants varied; the group which finally settled in the Anadarko vicinity, for example, had close contacts with the "wild" tribes (Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho), whereas the main body had more intimate relationships with the whites. For this and other reasons the subsequent culture change of these groups differed. Since my field work was principally with the descendants of the main body (the "Cherokee-Delaware"), my discussion principally concerns this group. It might be remarked in passing, however, that today all Delawares, whatever their antecedents, seem to have reached approximately the same stage of social and cultural assimilation.

It was during the Decadent Period that the aboriginal gardening techniques were finally abandoned. With the settlement of the main body of Delawares on reservations, and with closer association of Indians and whites, the opportunity to become acquainted with the horse-plow complex and the small grains increased immensely. The government agents and missionaries did everything within their power to transform the Delawares into sedentary, farming people. The men were reluctant, however, to alter their traditional role as hunters and warriors and

[136] *Ibid.*, p. 43; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 188-87.
[137] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 188.
[138] Adams, 1906, p. 43.
[139] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 188.
[140] Adams, 1906, p. 43; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 188-89; *Ann. Rep.*, 1868, p. 263.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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436 is even now the case, though they are not accounted as valuable as at one time. Formerly they sometimes used in the place of the belts the wing of some large bird, which is still done among the nations living in remoter regions, where wampum is rare or not to be had at all, where there is no trade with Europeans and some have not even seen wampum. Occasionally, though not often, embassies from such distant people come to the Delawares.[43]

211 212 648 A belt is given in confirmation of a message or speech, as they know nothing of writing; an answer given is similarly ratified by a belt of the same size. An alliance or league is hardly arranged by two peoples with less than twenty belts of wampum. Often thirty or more are required.

175 As I have digressed from the main matter, viz., the character and nature of the land, I must yet in passing notice how it came about that the Delawares, who had lived near the sea and along the Delaware River, came to Alleghene,[44] where they were strangers and had no claim to the land. Some eighty years ago, more or less, the whites being already in the country and many of the Delawares having moved far up the Delaware River, a party of these Indians, with the cousin of a chief as captain, went on a hunt. They were attacked by Cherokees, at that time dwelling along the Allegheny and its branches, and some of them were killed, the captain, a cousin of the chief, among the rest. The survivors fled to their homes, related to the chief what had happened and suggested that he give them more men in order that they might avenge themselves on their enemies. The chief, however, put them off and did not let them go, even though he sorrowed over the loss they had suffered. After the lapse of a year the chief sent out several hundred men to avenge themselves on the Cherokees (the Delawares at that time already having European arms). When they arrived at the enemies' first towns along the Allegheny, they found no one, for all had fled at the news of the Delawares' approach. The latter pursued, the Cherokees constantly retreating until they were overtaken at the great island[45] at the fork where Pittsburg is now situated. Perceiving that the Delawares were strong in num-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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bers, they had no heart to fight, though they stood ready with bow and arrow in hand; instead, their chiefs called to the Delawares to rest their arms and not fight. Afterwards they had an interview with the Delawares and surrendered themselves as prisoners. About half of them, however, dissatisfied with the capitulation, refused to surrender and escaped during the night, going down the river to the mouth of another river, now named the Cherokee River,[48] where they landed and afterward settled along this stream, in the region in which they still live. After the Delawares had finished with the Cherokees, the Six Nations arrived, having heard of the expedition of the Delawares. When they realized that the Delawares were masters of the situation, they professed satisfaction and said that they had come to assist them, but recognized that their aid was not now needed. Thereupon the Delawares gave them some of their prisoners as a present for their trouble and suffered them to go to their homes. Then the Delawares remained a long time at the Beaver Creek, to which they gave its name, in view of the animals that there abounded. After that the Delawares turned their faces homeward but soon returned, and since that time this region has been inhabited by Delawares and year by year more have come. Later the Wiondats, in connection with a solemn council, recognized the claim they made to the territory, inasmuch as they had conquered it. All this land and region, stretching as far as the creeks and waters that flow into the Alleghene the Delawares call Alligewinenk, which means, "a land into which they came from distant parts." The river itself, however, is called Alligewi Sipo. The whites have made Alleghene out of this, the Six Nations calling the river the Ohio.

The Cherokees were very powerful but had no friends among the nations; on the contrary, the Six Nations and the Wiondats waged war against them, though the Delawares made no further expeditions against them. Once it occurred that the Cherokees, pursuing the Six Nations who had done them some injury, came up to some Delaware towns and killed several of that people. This provoked a war between the Delawares and Cherokees that lasted until 1766 or 1767, when the Cherokees

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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175 sought the friendship of the Delawares, who had done them much harm, even to the extent of going into their towns and killing a number of people. Hence, they made peace and the Cherokees recognized the Delawares as their grandfathers. Through intervention of the Delawares the Cherokees secured peace also with the Six Nations and others, which was established in 1768,[46] when the mission of the Brethren was begun at Goschgosching.

With the Delawares the Six Nations carried on long wars before the coming of the white man, and even after the advent of the pale-face, but the former were always too powerful for the Six Nations. The latter were convinced that if they continued the wars, their total extirpation would be inevitable. The Six Nations indeed boast that they had overcome the Delawares but these will not grant it, stating that as the Six Nations recognized the superior strength of the Delawares they thought of a means of saving their honor and making peace so that it might not seem that they had been conquered by the Delawares.

Soon after Pennsylvania had been settled by the whites, the Six Nations sent an embassy to the Delawares, opened negotiations and said:[47] It is not profitable that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this would at length ruin the whole Indian race. They had, therefore, contrived a remedy by which this evil might be prevented while there was yet opportunity to do so. One nation should be the woman. She should be placed in the midst, while the other nations, who make war, should be the man and live around the woman. No one should touch or hurt the woman, and if any one did so, they would immediately say to him, "Why do you beat the woman?" Then all the men should fall upon him who has beaten her. The woman should not go to war but endeavor to keep the peace with all. Therefore, if the men that surround her should beat each other and the war be carried on with violence, the woman should have the right of addressing them; "Ye men, what are ye about; why do ye beat each other? We are almost afraid. Consider that your wives and children must perish unless you desist. Do you mean to destroy yourselves from the face of the earth?" The men should then hear and obey the woman. Ever since then the Six Nations have called the Delawares their cousins, i. e.,

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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sister's children, and declared them to be the woman, dressed them in a woman's long habit, reaching down to the feet, though Indian women wear only short garments that reach but little below the knee, and fastened this about their bodies with a great, large belt of wampum. They adorned them with ear-rings, such as their women were accustomed to wear. Further, they hung a calabash filled with oil and beson [medicine] on their arms, therewith to anoint themselves and other nations. They also gave them a corn-pestle and a hoe. Each of these points was confirmed by delivering a belt of wampum and the whole ceremony observed with the greatest solemnity. One must not, however, think they actually dressed them in women's garments and placed corn-pestle and hoe in their hands. It is to be understood in the same way as when the chiefs among the Indians lay out a trail several hundred miles through the woods, they cut away thorn and thicket, clear trees, rocks and stones out of the way, cut through the hills, level up the track and strew it with white sand, so that they may easily go from one nation to another; but when one goes the way that has thus been cleared it is found to be full of wood and rocks and stones and all overgrown with thorns and thicket. The woman's garment signified that they should not engage in war, for the Delawares were great and brave warriors, feared by the other nations; the corn-pestle and hoe that they should engage in agriculture. The calabash[48] with oil was to be used to cleanse the ears of the other nations, that they might attend to good and not to evil counsel. With the medicine or beson they were to heal those who were walking in foolish ways that they might come to their senses and incline their hearts to peace.

The Delaware nation is thus looked to for the preservation of peace and entrusted with the charge of the great belt of peace and the chain of friendship which they must take care to preserve inviolate and which they bear on their shoulders at its middle, the other nations and the Europeans holding the ends.

Thus it was brought about that the Delawares should be the cousins of the Six Nations and were made by them to be the women. Such a state of things was preserved until 1755, when a war broke out between the Indians and the white people into

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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which the Delawares were enticed by the Six Nations. The woman's dress of the Delaware nation was shortened so as to reach only to the knees and a hatchet was given into their hands for defense. More than this, on the occasion of a council held during the same war, near Pittsburg, the Six Nations proposed to take the woman's dress away altogether and clothe them with the breech-clout, saying they could well see that the dress was a hindrance, inasmuch as the Delawares did not enter heartily into the war, being well aware that the Six Nations only sought their ruin. This, therefore, was not approved of by the Delawares, one of their chiefs rising to say to the Six Nations, "Why do you wish to rob the woman of her dress? I tell you that if you do, you will find creatures in it that are ready to bite you."

The Six Nations who had betrayed the Delawares into a war with the white people, at the last fell upon them themselves at the instigation of Sir William Johnson, taking many captives, especially of the Monsy [Monsey] tribe, whom they delivered over to Johnson, destroying and ravaging their towns on the Susquehanna and killing their cattle.[48½] The Delawares will not easily forget this piece of treachery and there is and remains a national hostility between these nations. In this present war the Delawares have done much to avenge themselves.

With the Mohicanders and Woapanose[49] the Six Nations also carried on wars for a long time; through the instrumentality of white people peace was eventually declared between them at Albanien.[50]

Concerning the country in which the Delawares formerly lived, viz., in Pennsylvania and Jersey, it is unnecessary to add anything, as these regions are well known. Along the Susquehanna, where our Indians lived, that is, at Friedenshütten,[51] the country is beautiful and the soil good along the river, but away from the river in the heart of the country it is very mountainous and of no use to the Indians except for the chase. Where the Indians would prepare land and plant, the soil must be of the best. In many cases where the Europeans would think it possible to have fine farms, the Indians would not look at the soil.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1638 Sweden planted the first permanent colony on the banks of the Delaware River. Since that date there has been continuous contact between the Delaware Indians then residing there and the whites. The Delaware Indians today offer an opportunity to study the process of culture change through a period of three centuries of contact with another culture.

The term "culture change" embraces all aspects of culture change, regardless of the process or processes whereby the change was brought about, whether by indigenous evolution, stimulus-diffusion, contact on a small or a large scale, or by some other way.

Acculturation is one process by which culture change takes place; it is the approximation of the culture of one social group to that of another under conditions of continuous contact. This process admits of a two-way passage of influence and predicates no end result except that it be somewhere between the two original cultures. Diffusion of ideas, technical processes and the like between neighboring groups is properly an example of acculturation. Usually acculturation studies are concerned with the results of the process on only one tribe or group.

Assimilation is distinguished from acculturation on the basis of political control. It is a process of culture change with the political dominance of one group directing the process and usually resulting in the engulfing of the other group and the obliteration of its culture. However, there are instances in which it was the ruling group that was engulfed or assimilated. Assimilation is acculturation, then, with a predicated result: the obliteration of one of two groups in contact.

Diffusion as a process is distinguished from acculturation only by the absence of direct or continuous contact. As a matter of fact, diffusion within a group is responsible for the preservation of its culture; diffusion between groups is responsible for the spread of culture and hence the change or accretion of traits among the receiving groups. If the examples of the diffusion of

[p. 6 is blank]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Introduction and Explanation of the Ceremony

It has long been known that the Delaware Indians had a periodic ceremony of paramount importance in fulfilling their obligations toward a pantheon of spiritual forces. We learn something of such a ceremony from indications occurring in the 17th and 18th century sources, among which figure Denton (1670),[1] William Penn (1683),[2] Brainerd (1745),[3] Zeisberger (1779-80),[4] Loskiel (1794),[5] and Heckewelder (1771-86, 1818).[6] First from the casual writings of Dutch, Swedish and English authors we get glimpses of the ceremony while this famous and patriarchal nation was still residing in its haunts in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the westward movement of the tribe, first to the valley of the Susquehanna and later to the Ohio country, the missionaries who attempted the conversion of the Delawares have added their comments upon the great recurrent festival, treating it in terms of cool description or in phrases of fervent condemnation according as their attitudes toward it were determined by their profession.

In the accounts we have, the ceremony is referred to under various titles, some in English, some in Delaware; Cantiko, (Penn, 1683), Gamwing, (Zeisberger, 1779), xingwi·ka'on, The Big House, The Annual Ceremony. And it is not a little strange that even the oldest of them are recognized by corresponding terms still current in the language of the tribe at the present time, as clearly explainable today as though we were still holding conference with native priests and patriarchs who had talked with Penn and his contemporaries. That the great rite was of local interest in the religious life of the allied peoples

[1] Denton's Description of New York, formerly New Netherlands, N. Y. 1670.

[2] William Penn. A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province Residing in London, London 1683 in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and Delaware, Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 234.

[3] David Brainerd, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd, by Jonathan Edwards, New Haven, 1822.

[4] David Zeisberger. History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d.

[5] George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America, London, 1794.

[6] John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, Edited by W. C. Reichel. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila. 1876.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians

by WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

Texas Memorial Museum

Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*) is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green, dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of colors, forms, and sounds, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. The extent to which a person has or does not have hallucinations depends upon his physical and psychological state, the amount and type of peyote ingested, and perhaps other factors. Peyote is not a narcotic in that "It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence" (La Barre, *et al.*, 1951: 582).

A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge and a new ceremonial use of peyote developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The peyote cult was attractive to many of these Indians because it could easily replace outmoded or discarded religious rites, and because it was a continuing, if mild, rejection of elements of the dominant civilization. The new cult diffused to the Delaware Indians of northeastern Oklahoma about 1885, through the agency of John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware from Anadarko in western Oklahoma (Petrullo, 1934: 83; La Barre, 1938: 109–123). This man had become a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares and other Indians in Oklahoma. John Wilson's version of peyotism, termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most popular form of the cult among the main body of Delawares in northeastern Oklahoma. A less Christianized and less all-embracing religious cult called Little Moon was introduced somewhat later and has never attracted as many followers. I was unable to attend a Little Moon meeting; what follows pertains only to the Big Moon ceremony.

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

101 THE DELAWARES belong to the Algonkian linguistic stock. When referring to themselves they use the term Lenape or Lenni Lenape, which denotes "real" or "native men." The original 131 habitat of the Delawares was in southeastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. In this territory they were first visited by the Dutch, 648 Swedish and English voyagers in the 16th 175 and 17th centuries. About 1720, trouble began owing in part to pressure brought upon the Delawares by the Iroquois. This marked the beginning of a series of 167 migrations in which bands of Delawares 175 left their ancestral homes in the east and moved westward. Their first move took them to the valley of the Susquehanna, where they settled at Wyoming about 1742. By 1751 they had reached eastern Ohio and formed settlements. Another move brought numbers of them into Indiana. In 1789 they were granted permission by the Spanish government to settle in Missouri and Arkansas. Later most of the tribe was brought together on a reservation

[P.24, A]

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

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The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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178
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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

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[P 24, B] About 1913.